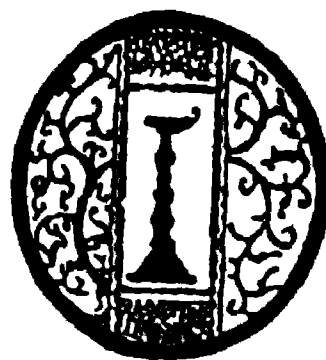


International Co-operation: Techniques and Ethics

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Azad Memorial Lectures 1965

René Maheu



Indian Council for Cultural Relations

International Co-operation: Techniques and Ethics

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Publisher's Preface

The 25th anniversary of Unesco, provides a most welcome opportunity for reflection not only on its achievement and promise but also on the 'profound transformations that are now taking place in the thinking and actions of men which are bringing into question the very meaning of life and the order of society.'

The constitution of the Organization declares that 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'. Reflecting on this perennial theme Jawaharlal Nehru said, 'I have become more and more convinced that so long as we do not recognise the supremacy of the moral law in our national and international relations, we shall have no enduring peace'. Thus it is that the United Nations System, but more particularly Unesco, must carry the staggering responsibility of awakening and representing the conscience of the world community. The intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind can no longer be regarded as a distant goal; it is an urgent necessity, the very condition for human survival.

Few in our time have thought so deeply about these problems and dedicated their actions so entirely

to the promotion of peace and international understanding as has M. René Maheu, the present Director-General whose association with Unesco is as old as the Organization itself. The Council considers it highly appropriate therefore to bring out on this occasion a new edition of the text of his Azad Memorial Lectures delivered in India in 1965. The address delivered by him on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations is entirely relevant to the theme of his Azad Memorial Lectures and has been included in this volume. The techniques and ethics of international co-operation as propounded by M. René Maheu make this a most timely and valuable document.

The Council is grateful to the distinguished author for specially revising the main text for this edition and for allowing reproduction of his address delivered last year on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations.

*Mr. President of the Swiss Confederation,
Mr. Secretary-General of the United Nations,
Mr. President of the Economic and Social Council,
Distinguished Delegates,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

IT is a joy and an honour for me to have this opportunity of paying tribute to the United Nations on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary. The honour is the greater because I am addressing you on behalf of all the Heads of the Secretariats of the Specialized Agencies and Bodies represented on the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, who have given me the privilege of being their spokesman. The organizations in question are:

The International Labour Organisation,
the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations,
the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,
the World Health Organization,
the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and its two affiliates, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Association,
the International Monetary Fund,
the International Civil Aviation Organization,
the Universal Postal Union,

the International Telecommunication Union,
the World Meteorological Organization,
the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative
Organization,
the International Atomic Energy Agency,
the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade,
the United Nations Conference on Trade and
Development,
the United Nations Industrial Development
Organization,
the United Nations Children's Fund,
the United Nations Development Programme,
the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for
Palestine Refugees in the Near East,
the Office of the United Nations High Commi-
ssioner for Refugees,
the United Nations Training and Research Insti-
tute, and
the World Food Program.

This list shows the number, size and variety of the fields covered by the United Nations system and the very high degree of institutional diversification which the system has found it necessary to adopt in order to carry out its various tasks. The idea at the root of this diversification is that the increasing complexity of international relations, resulting from the many changes the technological revolution is bringing about, if only in the matter of communications, and from the increase in the number of independent

States, presents the human race as a whole with problems of *organization* which cannot be solved without the aid of institutions that are at once specialized and universal. The great merit of the United Nations system is that it recognized this characteristic of our civilization from the outset. That is why it was conceived and has developed as an intricately geared system comprising a central organization with general and essentially political responsibilities—the United Nations itself—around which a number of institutions have been established or deployed, each with its own constitution—and indeed, in the majority of cases, legal autonomy—and each devoting itself to international co-operation in a particular sector of human activity. In adopting this scheme, the authors of the Charter signed at San Francisco on 26 June 1945 showed considerable wisdom and what can only be described as prescience. Given an irreversible process of rapidly increasing specialization, decentralization and the delegation of responsibility are an essential condition for effectiveness.

Effectiveness: I use the word advisedly. Although a substantial part of its energies has inevitably been absorbed during this first quarter-century by problems of internal organization, the United Nations system has already furnished abundant proof of its effectiveness on all the levels at which it is active—intellectual, operational, normative and ethical. Sufficient proof, at any rate, to ensure that the

question of its capacity, even where it is raised, does not imply more than the sort of periodical review that has to be conducted by any organization which has grown rapidly and wishes to satisfy itself that its machinery and methods of work are efficient.

That this should have been possible is probably due to the specialization I have just mentioned, which has enabled the system to keep a firm grip on the various aspects of reality and has multiplied both the sources of ideas and the channels of co-operation. But it is also due to the fact that, faithful to the role assigned to it by its founders as a central driving force and focus of co-ordination, the United Nations itself has gradually succeeded in evolving a number of seminal ideas and major concepts which have illuminated and guided the undertakings of the entire system.

In this connexion, how could we omit to mention that—as History will certainly record to its credit—it was within the United Nations that the idea and the process of decolonization took definite shape and were translated into practice? The Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, in particular, have been largely instrumental in bringing about the emancipation of many peoples formerly under colonial rule.

The accession of these peoples to independence, however, has not only profoundly altered the composition of the international community and the

relations among its members; it has also highlighted a number of problems which had never previously appeared in their true colours and in all their gravity.

I am referring, essentially, to the problems of underdevelopment. Mankind has suddenly realized both that development has been the privilege of a minority instead of being, as it can, the condition of all, and that most of the countries seeking to achieve it were unable to do so by their own unaided efforts. In this respect, a tribute must be paid to the Economic and Social Council, the organ of the General Assembly mainly responsible for the development of this new awareness that has changed the climate of the age. It was the Council that hammered out the idea of integrated economic and social development and secured acceptance of it not only as a possibility but as a duty devolving upon each individual country and upon the international community as a whole. And because the Council is also, under the Charter, the organ of the United Nations responsible for coordinating the activities of the various agencies within the system, it is only natural that it should have carried those agencies with it into what has been the most significant transformation of the '60s, namely, operational action in the service of development.

It must be admitted that this great change constituted a severe test for all the organizations concerned. For it compelled them to think out their priorities afresh, to review their methods and, in many cases,

to equip themselves with new machinery and means of action for bringing substantially increased resources into play. But, besides bringing home to those organizations the poverty and suffering of the world, and its needs, it also gave them experience of practical action and its demands, and thus represented for them a sort of second birth, a profounder identification with the human condition and historical reality, so that they gained at the same time in usefulness and in truth.

But just as aid to development, for all its importance, does not epitomize the whole of the system's work, so also the debt of gratitude owed to the United Nations by the organizations on whose behalf I am speaking today does not stop there. The United Nations has in fact done much to give the system, what might be called, its ideology. And without ideology, nothing that we do is either meaningful to others or clear to ourselves.

It is no doubt true that the ideology of the United Nations was already set forth in the Charter and in the constitutions of certain Specialized Agencies. But the Organization's abiding merit lies in the fact that it has delved, and inspired others to delve, into the ethical conceptions expressed in these texts in general terms, in a persistent effort to give them sharper definition, a more substantial content, more immediate relevance: with the result that they have become specific targets instead of mere ideals. I need

do no more than quote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed on 10 December 1948 by the General Assembly, the Preamble of which summarizes the fundamental purpose underlying all the efforts of the United Nations and its associated institutions when it states that “recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.” In view of this, it is easy to understand why the General Assembly has chosen as its motto for this twenty-fifth anniversary the words: *Peace, Justice, Progress*.

There is no denying that these are formidable words. For we know well that the world is still dominated by too many rulers and groups who do not suit their actions to their words, who preach peace while waging or preparing for war, who exalt justice while tolerating discrimination and flagrant inequality, who pay lip service to progress while diverting to armaments enormous sums which they could more usefully spend on development, both in their own country and abroad. Should we be tempted to forget this state of affairs or to acquiesce in it, the protest of the young would be there to jolt us out of our complacency.

It is all too true, alas, that the world is not what our principles proclaim that it should be. And it is understandable that the young, who are not yet

launched into life and to whom a quarter of a century still seems an age, should be impatient at the deficiencies or the slowness of our progress.

But those who have lived through the two great and terrible world wars whose horrors led the governments of the nations to pin the sole reasonable hope for mankind upon these principles, are less surprised, being, as they are, better aware of the nature of the Evil to be fought and of the depth of its roots, which extend far into the dark recesses of history. And those who have devoted these twenty-five years to international service and have found in that service the pride and honour of their lives, evaluate the results of their efforts differently for they measure time by a different standard. They know that the organization of man's reign on earth is a prolonged quest and that it would be foolish and presumptuous to hope to accomplish it within the span of a single generation. What matters is that we should be certain of the historical rightness of our aims and of the dynamic capacity of our institutional apparatus. I think I have said enough to warrant such a feeling of assurance. The rest is a matter of courage, the courage of every day.

While, then, we cannot look with unmixed joy upon our troubled world so fraught with serious dangers, it is nevertheless in a spirit of complete awareness and conviction that we offer you, Mr. Secretary-General, our warmest congratulations and

thanks for the inspiration and guidance which, in matters of vital importance and at crucial moments, the United Nations has given to our joint endeavours. Above all, we wish to renew, here in your presence, our solemn undertaking to afford you every assistance in the great tasks which the future holds in store.

May the memories and reflections called forth by this commemoration strengthen our faith and give new life to our hopes!

International Co-operation Techniques and Ethics

Azad Memorial Lectures: 1965

International Co-operation As a Technique

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This is for me, in many respects, an exceptional occasion and one to which I attach the deepest significance; in many respects and for many reasons but, first and foremost, because it is in honour of Maulana Azad that I am privileged to speak to you. I would therefore like to begin by paying my tribute to the memory of that great man whose teachings it is the purpose of these lectures to perpetuate.

I had the good fortune to meet him on several occasions between 1950 and 1956. He was a man of tremendous culture and, at the same time, a man of action, as he demonstrated by his wisdom in government no less than by his ardour in the struggle for independence. Above all, he was a man with a profound veneration for human dignity so that he never dissociated his country's cause from the cause of all mankind. This hero of national liberty was a dedicated champion of international co-operation. As Minister of Education, he played an important part in forging the close links which were formed from the outset between India and Unesco and in the increasingly active participation of that country in the Organization's work. It was at his invitation that the

General Conference held its seventh session in Delhi in November 1956 and he presided with the utmost distinction over these meetings which represented the first major international conference convened in Asia by an agency of the United Nations system. I could mention no name that would be more inspiring in any discussion of international co-operation.

I was deeply touched by the terms in which the Chairman referred to the intense interest which such a subject arouses in this country a few months after the death of your great leader Jawaharlal Nehru whose loss was so universally mourned. It was on his initiative that the General Assembly of the United Nations decided to devote the present year 1965—a year which he was not to see but which nonetheless continues to be inspired by him and his example—to celebrating the ideals and reflecting on the methods of international co-operation. Let me assure you that I am fully aware of the fervour of your convictions and of the outstanding part which India has constantly played since the first day of its regained freedom in the organizations set up to promote international co-operation. It is precisely this common faith which, in my view, endows the present meeting with such exceptional importance.

For, to me, international co-operation is something very different from an abstract idea or a subject for rhetoric. It has been my daily concern for more than eighteen years and has gradually become so

much a part of me that I would now find it very difficult to imagine myself and to give of my best in the service of any other cause. It may well be that ultimately I can offer you no more than some thoughts on this personal experience and I hope that you will at any rate accept this as an authentic and sincere testimony.

My observations, like my experience, will be limited to international co-operation in the economic, social and cultural spheres where the work of the Specialized Agencies is concentrated as distinct from the political field which comes within the exclusive competence of the United Nations itself. And I should perhaps add that my views on the vast economic, social and cultural sectors will necessarily be based on those of Unesco which I have shared since the Organization was founded. Identification, however, does not necessarily go any further than this: the ideas which I propose to develop, even if they derive fundamentally from experience acquired within the Organization, do not necessarily represent the official views or policies of the Organization and should be considered as strictly personal. Mr. Chairman,

I have divided my subject, which is a very large and intricate one, into two parts, which I propose to deal with separately, today and tomorrow. They represent the two aspects of international co-operation, which is at once a technique and an ethic. However,

although for purposes of analysis it is better to focus on each in turn, it must always be remembered that the two aspects are closely linked and that it is certain original features of the technique of international co-operation that give such co-operation its ethical value and meaning.

I shall now, therefore, try to analyse and describe the main features of international co-operation as a technique. That is the first and most apparent aspect of international co-operation: It is a technique, in other words a method of action, of carrying out certain tasks with certain objectives. Indeed, international organizations, whether through their inter-governmental bodies or through the staff of their international secretariats, tend to stress this technical aspect of their work as constituting the most original feature of their role.

I have used the phrase technique or method of action, and, in fact, no one can fail to see that there are certain sectors of modern civilization in which international co-operation is, both for governments and public bodies and for private interests, a prerequisite for action itself. These are the sectors of communications and exchanges.

It was in the communications sectors that the first international governmental organization was set up: I refer to the International Telecommunication Union which was founded in 1865 under the name of International Telegraph Union and is celeb-

rating its centenary this year. The Universal Postal Union belongs to the same epoch, having been set up nine years later in 1874. But these are not the only organizations of their kind. Far more recent in origin, the International Civil Aviation Organization, established in 1944, and the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, set up in 1958, derive from the same concern and fulfil the same requirements. In all these cases, whether it be a question of conveying messages, individuals or goods, the problem is to establish universally accepted standards to govern throughout the world the utilization and even the equipment of certain means of communication which can only function efficiently if all users, from no matter what country, observe the same rules.

These are the most obvious cases. However, if we look beyond them we find immediately that the establishment of communications among nations is broadly speaking one of the functions—it might almost be said to be the basic function—of any organization for international co-operation in its own field. In other words, the primary function not only of those particular organizations I have just mentioned but of every international organization devoted to international co-operation is to promote, organize and facilitate international communications between nations in its own field of competence.

This is, of course, particularly so in the case of

Unesco. One of the Organization's major objectives, as set forth in its Constitution, is to help to advance "the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image." Unesco thus exists first and foremost for the purpose of communicating ideas. It is rooted in the concept of communication, and the communication of that least tangible of all commodities—ideas.

Unesco attempts to do this, i.e. to facilitate and develop the communication of ideas between the peoples of different nations, in two ways. Firstly, in a sort of negative or indirect manner, it endeavours to reduce or to eliminate the obstacles or some of the obstacles, especially those of a non-political character, which obstruct the free flow of ideas. An example of this approach is the Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials, which the General Conference of Unesco adopted in 1950 and which has since been ratified or accepted by some 46¹ countries. We in Unesco believe that the products of the human mind should not be treated by the customs officers just like any other kind of commodity, for these educational, scientific and cultural materials have the singular

¹ 63 by June 1971.

originality that you get rich by buying them rather than by selling them. So one way in which Unesco tries to promote a free flow of information is by endeavouring to eliminate or reduce the obstacles.

But, much more positively, Unesco also tries to foster the communication of ideas between peoples. For it would be a mistake to think that the free flow of ideas is impeded only by obstacles of a non-intellectual nature. In the realm of intellectual activities there are some organizational problems which must be resolved if we are to make it possible for the processes and products of the intellect to permeate the world. For ideas to flow freely throughout the world it is not enough just to eliminate any external physical obstacles which impede the flow of the materials conveying the ideas; there must also be some means of organizing intellectual life on the international plane. And to organize the life of the intellect on an international basis so as to make possible a free flow of information and ideas is no easy matter.

In this connexion I would like to cite two very important problems with which Unesco is involved: The first arises from the diversity of the media of expression, that is the diversity of languages, the second from the mass of documentation. Without a real solution to these two problems there can be no free flow of ideas.

In the first case, that of languages, it is necessary

to reconcile two conflicting requirements: the need to preserve the originality and autonomy of cultures—an originality and autonomy which are closely tied up with the local national languages, the existence and recognition of those languages—on the one hand and, on the other, the need for universal communion through universal communication particularly in such fields as science and technology.

This is not, of course, an easy problem to resolve and I do not think it has yet been resolved satisfactorily anywhere; but it must be, for it is the unity of mankind, the very possibility of a universal civilization, that are at stake. We must always strive to find, in our own ways, the means of reconciling these conflicting requirements. On the one hand culture, all genuine culture, needs a completely indigenous means of expression, since culture is deeply rooted in the consciousness and the immediate reality of a particular community, big or small. On the other hand the unity of civilization, especially in areas where the objectivity and universal approach of science are all important, requires the use for communication of very widely diffused languages. No nation, community or individual wishing both to enjoy its original indigenous culture and to participate in the history and collective development of mankind can possibly choose between these two conflicting demands. To my mind it would be disastrous even to attempt to choose between the two

—and regardless of whether we opted for the way of culture, the way of one's own originality, or the way of universal communication and universal communion. No, the only solution is a combination of the two. We must have both, we cannot afford to discard either of the two approaches. But this poses a problem in terms of languages, and it is indeed a very difficult one to resolve.

Unesco has been confronted with these problems, though not of its own volition. On the contrary, it has been extremely careful, as an organization, not to get involved in such matters. But, whether we like it or not, we are getting involved at the request of our own Member States. Not that they want us, except in a few quite exceptional cases, to intervene in the choice of a language for example. But when they ask us to help them in the planning of education, for instance, there comes a point when, whether we like it or not, we have to consider the question of the medium of teaching, the medium of expression. I have no doubt that in the future, Unesco as an organization—by which I mean the Member States themselves as a community, rather than the Secretariat—will be confronted with this problem, which is one of the most important now facing all those concerned with the building up of a world society.

The other example I alluded to is even more technical than the one I have just mentioned. But it is of equal importance. It is the problem of docu-

mentation. Now at first sight documentation might seem to be of interest only to the specialists and, in a sense, that is true, since only specialists can grasp the complexity of the questions involved. In fact, however, it is a problem that affects everybody. The volume of knowledge already acquired by man is immense and is continuing to expand at a fantastic rate as education rapidly adds to the number of minds, active minds, which are contributing to progress, and with the improved methods and equipment that are now available to intellectual workers. To take but one example, over three million scientific articles are published every year—and, of course, in different languages. Now this mass of material is usable only if it is well ordered, particularly since research is becoming increasingly specialized and since the synthesizing disciplines themselves now proceed from the crossing of highly specialized branches instead of, as in the past, from a first general abstract apprehension. If this enormous mass of material, of the stored knowledge which we call documentation, is not well ordered, there is bound to be a terrible wast of intellectual energy and even material labour in some extremely costly sector of research, because the knowledge acquired or ideas formulated elsewhere will not be available to some isolated or poorly equipped research workers at the time and in the form needed for the success of their work, or because the work they have undertaken is

superfluous, having already been done, unknown to them, by others.

And such in many respects is the present state of affairs. There is a tremendous wastage at the moment, because the store of knowledge is not properly analyzed, ordered and readily available where it is needed and can be used to maximum effect. The fact that important results are achieved by some well organized intellectual centres should not blind us to this fearful waste of intellectual energy that characterizes the work of the remainder and explains the very low efficiency of the whole.

This problem of documentation is, at world level, the same as the problem of memory at the individual level. Documentation is the memory of mankind, and the knowledge which has been acquired by many different people, intellectuals and scientists, should be so organized as to be available to the whole of mankind.

Now this is a difficult problem, but not in technical terms because of its intricacies. It is difficult because, in spite of the considerable progress which has been achieved in developing mechanical methods, means and techniques of storage, retrieval, reproduction and analysis—i.e. through the use of electronic computers, which give us the technical ability to preserve and mobilize easily this store of knowledge—our understanding of the problem and its importance and our will to pool this knowledge and

make it, as I say, the 'memory of mankind', is still lacking. Unesco has already been active, and must become increasingly active in seeking a solution to this problem, since on it will depend to a considerable extent the structure of a world civilization.

So much for communication, which was the sector in which international co-operation first began and where international co-operation is by the nature of things a necessity.

The other sector where international co-operation is a necessity is that of exchanges, and the link between communication and exchanges is, of course, quite obvious. Communications are merely means: vital though it is for international co-operation that they should be organized, they remain instrumental. It is the utilization of those means that leads to action in the true sense, and this action is what is covered by the term 'exchanges'. In dealing with international exchanges, international co-operation agencies are no longer mere instruments, they become a very part of the history-making process.

Let me give you a few examples from outside Unesco before proceeding with a broader analysis of this aspect of international co-operation. The classic example of an international institution set up for the specific purpose of regulating one type of international exchange is the International Monetary Fund, which was created in 1944 and whose function is to regulate exchanges through a harmonisa-

tion of national monetary policies. In the field of trade, which is of course a most important category of exchanges, the first such institution was the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which we call GATT and which was drawn up in 1947. Since then the Trade and Development Board has been established within the United Nations itself, following the world conference on trade and development held in Geneva in 1964, in order to provide permanent machinery of much greater scope in this all-important field.

On the more general plane, exchanges, like communications, enter into every form of international co-operation. There is no international agency whose functions do not include the organizing and developing of exchanges in its own particular field of competence.

Where Unesco is concerned, exchanges are obviously essential. To appreciate this, we have only to reflect on the nature of science and the nature of culture, which are two of Unesco's main field of interest. In the field of science international exchanges transcend boundaries. They tend to build up and maintain, across the political, social, economic and ideological frontiers that separate men, a human community whose organization and functioning are determined solely by the intellectual needs and purposes of the scientific world. This is clear from the extremely important role played by

the international non-governmental organizations of scientists, with which Unesco works in very close co-operation.

Cultural exchanges rest on a different basis. Science is universal by nature, whereas culture springs from an awareness of relatively local or regional values with which the individual or the community can identify and justify to themselves their existence and their relationship to others. Nevertheless, although quite different in nature and significance, exchanges—and particularly international exchanges—are no less essential to culture than to science. And this for basically two reasons. First, every individual needs enriching relationships with others in order to develop his full potentialities. That is why any culture which aspires to grow, or even to survive, must be an open culture—a culture which is open to exchanges. Secondly, fundamental cultural values tend to become universally recognized even when rooted in local customs. This explains why culture is a process of mutual understanding and communion as much as one of personal assertion and achievement.

From the beginning Unesco has been active in promoting international understanding in the field of culture and has done as much to develop and organize international cultural exchanges as scientific exchanges. An outstanding example of this is the *History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of*

Mankind, produced under the supervision of a special international commission appointed for that purpose by Unesco in 1952. It is an example of an effort to understand, in the historical perspective, the international cultural and scientific exchanges that have taken place between peoples throughout the ages. Then again there is the Major Project for Mutual Understanding of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, which was adopted here in New Delhi by the General Conference in 1958 and which in 1966 will become a permanent feature of the Unesco programme and will be extended to embrace the cultural values of all regions.

Communications and exchanges are the sectors and functions in which international co-operation is a necessity by the very nature of things. But to these two sectors and functions—and this is perhaps the most interesting development and one which will lead on to the other aspect with which I shall be dealing tomorrow, namely the ‘ethical aspect’—have been added, not by reason of the nature of things but as a result of an historical process, two more functions, two additional dimensions of international action of a completely different type : aid to development and the formulation of normative, or standard-setting, concepts. In contrast to communications and exchanges, these two new aspects—aid to development and the formulation of normative concepts—add an entirely new perspective which

gives to the word 'international' quite a different meaning. 'International' here no longer means a relationship between nations, as in the case of communications and exchanges, but the relationship between a nation or group of nations, on the one hand, and the community of nations considered as a whole on the other. The relationship, therefore, is no longer horizontal, that is to say between nations, but vertical. It is the relationship of a part to the whole and no longer a relationship between elements forming distinct entities.

This is much more than a mere change of orientation, as the words 'horizontal' and 'vertical' might suggest. It is in fact a difference of nature in two very important respects. First, in this new perspective international co-operation is no longer restricted to external relationships, like communications and exchange; it becomes an integral part of the national reality, and this at the express request of governments acting within the framework of their national sovereignty. When an international organization helps or tries to help the government of a nation at its own request, the work of that international organization enters into and becomes a part of the national reality, it is no longer a part of the network of external relationships which I described under the other concept of communications and exchange. From a technical point of view, this introduction of international co-operation into the framework of

the national reality is a remarkable innovation which opens up great possibilities for effective international action.

The second aspect of this new perspective is apparent when we look at things from the opposite angle. We then find that this new type of action—normative and aid to development—implies an increasing awareness of the concept of an international community and, with it, the growing formation in practice of an international community. Since the relationship here is between a nation and the international community, the more such action there is, the more you can see awareness of an international community developing. This is quite different from the case of the regulation of exchanges or communications. The International Telecommunication Union, for instance, does not need the consent of the international community; it is a system for regulating the relations between nations.

It is thus the international organizations which have introduced this idea of an international community that acts as such either by providing help or by developing some normative concept. Through such international co-operation this community ceases to be an abstract ideal and appears increasingly as an active entity whose very effectiveness makes it more and more apparent even to the people most committed to national sovereignty and independence. And this is extremely important from

the ethical point of view—as important indeed as its practical impact on the national level from the technical point of view. For it signifies progress in the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind and a gradual evolution towards a universal moral consciousness.

Let me now give you some concrete examples of these two dimensions of international co-operation as a technique, by which an active relationship is introduced between an individual nation or a group of nations and the community of nations as a whole.

First, let us take the question of aid to development. International mutual aid is, of course, available to all, and here I may say that I fully agree with the Chairman's remark that international co-operation is a two-way traffic. Every member state of an international organization should both contribute to and benefit from international co-operation—and not merely as a matter of principle, but also in practice. For there is no country, however rich, powerful or developed, which cannot benefit from the help of the international community, and there is none so destitute as to be unable to contribute to the common task of solidarity. Indeed, perhaps the best thing we can do to help nations is not so much to give them something as to ask them for something, since it is by giving that we become rich.

This principle of the 'two-way traffic', the principle that nobody is so rich that he cannot benefit

from international co-operation and nobody so destitute that he cannot contribute to it, is to me one of the most important foundations of international co-operation. In Unesco we attach such great importance to it that our regular programme, in addition to the general activities in which, of course, all member states participate, includes a modest but significant programme of aid in fields where the notion of development in its economic and technical sense does not arise and from which the most developed countries are the most direct beneficiaries. As far as I am concerned nothing pleases me more than when I see the richest deriving some benefit from the system of international co-operation.

Having said this, however, it is of course true that the greater part—something like 80 to 85 per cent— of international mutual aid is used for development and hence for the benefit of the least developed countries. Since 1950 this deliberate priority has characterized the work of the organizations of the United Nations system, and the trend became even more marked with the adoption in 1962 of the Development Decade.

Many organizations of different types are involved in this great task of providing aid for development. On the one hand are the United Nations specialized agencies like the International Labour Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organization, World Health Organization and Unesco, together

with the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations itself, which in certain fields, industry for example, has a programme similar to those of the specialized agencies. On the other hand you have what are generally known as the financing agencies, like the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, which is regulated by the Technical Assistance Board, the Special Fund¹, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, often known as the World Bank, and its affiliate, the International Development Association, and in a special category, Unicef, the United Nations Children's Fund, which is an agency of direct aid. The relationship between these two groups of agencies is as follows:

The first of these, the specialized agencies, are technical organizations which act as advisers and executive agencies for the second or financing group and for the governments of member states, largely through the provision of experts. Thus an institution like Unesco can make available a whole range of services to its member states to aid them in their development. To begin with there is the regular programme which, through pilot projects, meetings and analysis by specialists, takes stock of the existing state of knowledge and tries to develop formulae

¹ In November 1965 the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the UN Special Fund were merged and became the United Nations Development Programme.

and principles as a guide for operational action. This regular programme is the indispensable basis and intellectual foundation of all activities. Secondly, there is Technical Assistance, which started in 1950 and the purpose of which is to help the developing countries to train their managerial personnel and specialized manpower. The third layer is the United Nations Special Fund which was established in 1960 and which is a pre-investment fund, i.e. it finances the creation of infrastructures which are not economically viable in themselves and therefore do not attract normal investment capital but which provide the indispensable bases for subsequent investment and development. Unesco participates in Special Fund activities and is the executing agent in its fields of competence, particularly education and science, which contribute so much to development. And finally, there is a fourth level, represented by the World Bank and International Development Association, which makes loans to Governments at nominal rates of interest for high-priority productive projects. In 1963 these two institutions decided to extend their investments to education and in 1964 concluded with Unesco an agreement to undertake a joint programme in this field, in which Unesco plays the part of technical adviser to the Bank and to the governments. A similar agreement concluded between Unesco and Unicef enables the latter to help education through the training of teachers.

All this goes to show both the complexity and the flexibility of this system of international co-operation, which combines the resources of the financing agencies and the technical knowledge and expertise of the specialized agencies. It is through this co-operation that over the years Unesco has been able to assist considerably the development of its Member States. To give you a few figures, I think that by the end of 1963 Unesco had in this way spent for the benefit of the less developed countries a total of about 116 million dollars. It has sent out something like 6700 experts and offered 7500 fellowships. In addition, the World Bank has started giving what we call 'soft loans', that is, loans at very low interest, some in local currency, for the development of educational facilities in Member States of Unesco.

Incidentally, I would like to make clear in this respect that the figures I have just quoted are not meant to suggest that our help has been very important, although it has been substantial. It is obviously only a fraction of the total foreign assistance. And foreign assistance itself is only a part of the whole effort, which is mainly a national effort.

In conclusion, let me say this about such aid to development: multilateral international action must be regarded as qualitative rather than quantitative. Our resources will always be limited and we cannot, and cannot even be expected to, compete with other sources. Of all the foreign aid given to the develop-

ing countries, the proportion of multilateral international aid is probably not more than 15 per cent; the rest has been given through bilateral channels. This must be frankly recognized, and recognized not in any way as a limitation but as a definition of the role of international co-operation as a means of aid. If quantity is needed, it must come from other sources.

An important consequence of this is that an international organization must select for its aid the sectors and the methods of co-operation which will have a cumulative effect, where its impact will obtain the greatest results. That is why Unesco is concentrating more and more on such key sectors as the planning of education and science, the training of specialized personnel, and experimentation in such fields as audio-visual aids. Once again I must stress what is sometimes imperfectly understood, even within the international organizations: and that is that all international action is qualitative, not quantitative.

Of equal importance to my mind is that the international action should always form an integral part of the national effort. It must never take the form of foreign intervention, must never give the impression of trying to replace the national effort, national resources, national ingenuity and initiative, and national decision. Its role must always be an auxiliary, pump-priming one. International assistance

can never compete with the national effort, it can only help and complement it.

The great value of international co-operation does not reside in the quantity of resources put at the disposal of member states, which will always be limited. Its value is of a political and moral character. It lies in the fact that such assistance is entirely disinterested, is based on no political, economic or ideological interests, and is completely undogmatic. Such help is, I think, even from the technical point of view, more likely to achieve objectivity. I am not saying that we always succeed in this, for objectivity is a very difficult thing to attain, but I think that being disinterested our assistance is more likely to be objective providing, as I have said, that it is properly integrated into the national effort, does not attempt to take the lead and always remains a stimulus and an aid. In other words by its very technical nature, international action must always be humble. When it is not humble, it cannot be true either to its nature or to its purpose.

Let me conclude this first lecture by stressing that international co-operation as a technique is a method of work by which mankind tries to serve its individual members and in the process comes to learn more about itself. Tomorrow I will dwell more particularly on the 'Ethical Aspect of International Co-operation'. This aspect, which I have not yet described, is what I call the normative or conceptual

function of the international action, the process by which it produces, not regulations, but ideas which are accepted gradually by the member states either individually or collectively. In other words, I shall attempt to describe a part of the historical process of moral development.

Ethical Aspect of International Co-operation

Yesterday I tried to define the main features of international co-operation as a technique, that is to say as a method of work being recognized increasingly in various sectors of modern civilization as extremely valuable, if not essential. But international co-operation, even though it may appear so at first sight, is not just a technique; it is much more than that and its achievements cannot be measured solely, or even mainly, in terms of practical efficiency. For there is also an ethical aspect which, to me, has virtually become its essential justification.

In order to analyse this ethical aspect of international co-operation, it is first necessary to recall that the main purposes of the institutional system of the United Nations are in any case essentially ethical in character. This is clear if we study the principal objectives set forth in the United Nations Charter which, as you know, embodies the main elements common to all the constitutions of the various specialized agencies. For the three main and closely interrelated objectives of the United Nations Charter are peace, social welfare and the promotion of human rights.

As you see, these objectives are essentially moral

in character. Moreover, if one stops to reflect for a moment, the last of these three—the promotion of human rights—is in fact the real justification of the other two. Human rights, from the point of view of the Charter, provide the justification for every action of an international character undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations system.

Let us take, for example, the question of aid to development. This aid to development, which as I mentioned yesterday is our top priority and represents at the moment something like 80 per cent of our work, has as its objective something which goes far beyond the concept of development, since its real aim and justification are to correct the inequities which now exist and are so completely contrary to the demands of human rights. When the international organizations try to help developing countries, it is not because development is looked upon as an end in itself. Far from it. We do so because we have come to recognize that development is essential if the greater part of humanity is to have the material facilities needed to enjoy fully, more fully at any rate, the rights to which every human being is entitled. The justification is thus far more important than the practical aspect of the aid and even the practical results, namely the improvements derived from development. Development is not an end in itself, we do not aid development for its own sake. It is man who is the beginning and the end of

development, not the servant and agent of development. Even the priority very rightly given at present to economic needs, to the economic aspect of development, should not in any way blind us to the fact that the real purpose in filling those economic needs is to help man lead a human life.

I once had occasion to call this approach to aid to development the "humanism of development". By this I meant that when we think of development and aid to development, we must never forget that from first to last it is man himself who is the principal objective of development, that it is man who needs developing more than any country or community, that the goal in developing a community is the development of man, individual man.

This ethical character, as I have noted, applies to the entire United Nations system. Within the system, however, no organization is more directly dedicated to these ethical purposes than Unesco. All the other organizations naturally have their contribution to make, beginning with the United Nations itself. But if you read the Constitution of Unesco it is clear that in the minds of its founders Unesco's distinctive task was to dedicate all its efforts to its ethical purpose. The role of Unesco is to encourage its member states to co-operate in an attempt to change the minds of men. It is based on the belief that the major factor in man's history is man's free mind, that what goes wrong in history is man's do-

ing and that if we want to correct the evils, the injustices, the inequities, we must work through the minds of men. This was the philosophy which guided our founders when they created Unesco—and the ideals to which 117¹ countries have pledged themselves—the philosophy that there is a right and a wrong use of the free mind and that it is therefore on the mind that we must concentrate our efforts in order to prepare the ground for the work of other international organizations.

Indeed, it can even be said, in a somewhat oversimplified formula that the role of Unesco under its Constitution is to prepare today the work of the United Nations tomorrow. The United Nations and the other specialized agencies work within the framework of present circumstances, the conditions prevailing today, though they naturally have an idea of the kind of future they would like to work towards. Unesco, on the other hand, is entirely geared and oriented towards the future because, working as it does on the minds of men and especially of the younger generation now being educated, it is shaping tomorrow's attitudes, collective or individual. Thus Unesco is essentially an ethical organization in its aims and its purpose.

There are, of course, other sides to Unesco, other aspects than this purely ethical purpose, and they

¹ 125 at end of 1970.

are all of some importance. But to a large extent they are secondary, auxiliary to the main ethical perspective.

I would like to note in this connexion that there are two temptations which we in Unesco must resist if we are to remain true to this ethical role of ours. The first is what I would call the temptation of intellectualism, the all too easy but not very novel temptation that Unesco should be the specialized agency of all those concerned with the various disciplines of the intellect—the artist, the creative man, the scientist and so forth. Now we do, of course, work with them, and to a certain degree for them; but our Constitution imposes upon us the duty of working through them for something quite different from and even more important than their own interests. Unesco certainly strives to develop education, science and culture; but, even for Unesco, education, science and culture are not ends in themselves, they are means. They are the means through which we work for peace, for social justice, in other words for the promotion of human rights.

That is the first temptation. The second, of more recent origin but perhaps even stronger nowadays, is what I would call the temptation of ‘operational efficiency’. Because we are so much engaged in this work of aiding the progress of education, science and culture and thereby helping the developing countries, we are sometimes tempted by the desire

to achieve results, to “get things done”, forgetting in our haste why we want to get things done, forgetting that the thing for which we are working is, as I have said, a change in the attitude of men. We therefore need constant reminding that in the end the Organization’s purpose is a moral one.

Having established what I think is the purpose of the United Nations system in general and of Unesco in particular, I would now like to analyze the way in which we strive to achieve this goal. Obviously, this goal is like the horizon—it keeps receding as we move towards it. But I think the time has come when we can begin to see a way of getting closer to our goal.

To begin with, some activities of the international organizations and in international co-operation in general are specifically devoted to the promotion of human rights, which is regarded as an activity in its own right. But here we come up against difficulties and even a paradox because, as you know, the institutions of the United Nations system are inter-governmental organizations, that is to say, their members are governments—and there are limits to what governments can do to promote human rights. In spite of their greatly increased powers, governments are not always properly equipped for this kind of action, which is essentially of a moral character. The promotion of human rights is something that is better left to the individual, the indi-

viduals who go to make up public opinion, and too much must not be expected in this respect from governments—or, therefore, from the inter-governmental organizations.

Another limitation which we find in this regard is the fact that we are not a supra-national organization, but an international organization, and we must very strictly respect national sovereignty. We are not allowed to intervene in the domestic affairs of our Member States, we can only work at the request of governments and with their voluntary participation and co-operation. This means that we cannot intervene even to make investigations in countries where human rights are not observed. Thus it is not only governments which find that there are limitations on their powers when it comes to the promotion of human rights. We, too, as an intergovernmental organization bound to respect national sovereignty, find that there are situations about which we can do nothing. Sometimes people write to me or to the papers expressing regret that Unesco is doing nothing about obvious cases of violations of human rights in education or other fields in some of its Member States. But there is nothing we can do, except at the request of the government concerned—and, rightly or wrongly, governments are completely free not to request our intervention.

That is why this aspect of the work, namely the promotion of human rights as a special activity, has

seemingly brought only limited results. I am thinking particularly of what is a normal activity of inter-governmental co-operation, namely the adoption of international instruments, of international agreements, of international statements which are specifically designed to promote the recognition of human rights. The United Nations, as you know, adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Personally, I regard this Declaration as a landmark in the history of mankind, because although there have been many declarations of rights, of human rights or the rights of citizens, it was the very first universal declaration of human rights, that is to say there was agreement throughout the world on certain principles and ideas regarded as constituting the minimum requirements of human dignity. This Declaration is, however, only a Declaration. It is not a binding legal agreement. You cannot quote it and force a government to respect what is in it. It is simply a statement of intent. As such it was a very good start for the United Nations, but it is to be regretted that it has not yet been followed by a covenant, that is to say a treaty, a binding legal document, which would be a sort of international law that had to be observed by the member governments.

In its own field of competence Unesco follows the same path. In 1960 for instance the General Conference of Unesco adopted a Convention—

which is a binding document — against discrimination in education to which 30 countries¹ have so far become parties. For those 30 countries it means that the international law has become a part of their national law, that the principles prohibiting discrimination in education which we adopted have now been incorporated into their national legislation.

That is an example of what I would call the specific activity undertaken by international organizations for the promotion of human rights. It is the maximum, the strongest action which governments can take, because it is legal action. But it is not the only method by which we can achieve the ends I described at the beginning of these talks.

The international organizations are in fact resorting increasingly to a quite different type of action, one no longer of a legal character. International co-operation is moving more and more towards action of a psychological nature. In the early days of the United Nations system, as I well remember, such an idea never entered our minds. We thought of ourselves as the kind of technical institution I described yesterday, or as an institution for adopting international agreements like the conventions I have just mentioned, laying down universal standards which our Member States would adopt and follow. At that time it never occurred to us that

¹ 57 countries by mid-June 1971.

we could engage in psychological action. But to our surprise we have discovered that international organizations can be a very potent source of ideas, that they have the power of creating, transmitting and publicising ideas, that they have in their hands an important psychological weapon—the ability to produce and project ideas into the minds of public opinion. We expected to work only through our members—and our members are, of course, governments. But we discovered that in spite of the technical and governmental nature of our organizations, we have this ability to produce ideas and thereby influence public opinion. Indeed, in the last few years the United Nations organizations have been the source of some very great ideas. Sometimes they have been thrown up by such forums as the General Assembly of the United Nations, which has developed a remarkable capacity for launching campaigns, for launching what I call psychological action, sometimes by the Secretariats, sometimes by individuals contributing to our work, sometimes by outside experts. The means may vary, but the fact is that many important concepts which have gained acceptance throughout the world have mainly originated in those organizations.

Let me give you a few examples. To begin with, the idea of technical assistance, even the very term, which first appeared around 1949 or 1950 and is now in common usage everywhere, originated in the

United Nations. So, too, did the concept of aid to development. This is something which you will find in no pre-World War II book and which emanated from no one particular country; its origin is a collective one and can be traced back to these international meetings and international co-operation activities. The same applies to the idea of integrated planning for development. This latter concept, of course, is in no way new; everybody knew that science was important to development. However, the great conference on the subject which the United Nations convened in Geneva in 1963 had an enormous psychological impact not only on public opinion but even on governments and experts, so that now the application of science and technology to development has become a sort of intellectual tool used by one and all. Where Unesco is concerned we have seen the evolution of such important new concepts as the contribution of human resources to development or the integration of educational planning into overall development planning. These ideas are now completely accepted by specialists, by governments and by public opinion, but only after some years of concerted work by the Organization.

Another example of this power of psychological action can be found in a different sector of Unesco's activity. As you know, our Constitution lays upon us the task of helping to preserve and protect mankind's cultural heritage. Now this idea that there is

such a thing as a cultural heritage of mankind is new. It means, in effect, that the monuments or works of art to be found in a particular place or country and which are the products of a particular civilization of the past, belong not to the inhabitants of that country but to all mankind. This is what the concept of a world cultural heritage means and it is something which we must try to get people to understand. Unesco has been working along those lines and the progress already made is really impressive. Let me give you an example. In 1954 a Convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict, prepared by Unesco, was adopted at a special conference held in the Hague in the Netherlands. This came under our normal responsibilities, which include the duty of preserving and protecting the precious relics of the past. But in 1954 the idea that they should be protected because they belonged to the whole of mankind was never advanced. They were to be protected because of their beauty or value, but always as a part of the national heritage. That was the whole idea behind the Convention. Yet only six years later, when we launched a campaign for the preservation of the monuments of Nubia—the part of Upper Egypt which will be flooded as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam—we based it on the concept that these monuments in the desert sands of Upper Egypt, built 3000 years ago by people

who have since disappeared, belong not only to the countries in whose territories they are to be found—the United Arab Republic and Sudan—but to the whole world.

The response to this campaign has been tremendous and all countries in different ways and in different degrees have felt an obligation to help. But the campaign has been a success not only from this practical aspect. From the psychological point of view it represents an even more remarkable achievement. In Japan, in India, in Mexico, in the countries of Africa south of the Sahara, in America, in Europe, people have come to consider that these monuments, which most of them have never seen, belong to them and that they must protect them, not simply in order to be friendly to the United Arab Republic or to Sudan or to Unesco, but in order to be true to themselves, i.e. to protect something which is a common heritage.

And when you come to think of it, to show people that they have a heritage is the best way of promoting a sense of family. It is a way by which Unesco works on the minds of men. You would be quite mistaken if you thought that our main purpose, and my main purpose in particular, has been to protect and preserve old stones, however precious they might be. No, through the preservation of those very ancient stones we are building a new concept in the minds of the men and women of today. We are build-

ing the concept that mankind has something in common and that, having a common heritage, it is but a single family and should behave as such.

That is our purpose and it has demonstrated very clearly and impressively that this international organization of ours is not merely a bureaucratic machine; it also has a strange power of launching ideas and influencing purposes. I think myself that these powers cannot be over-estimated. I think that we have only a dim and partial realization of the machine's tremendous capacity, Provided we launch big ideas, I believe we can influence the thinking of public opinion and the thinking of individuals throughout the world.

This psychological type of action goes far beyond the normative or standard-setting action of the legal conventions. It is through psychological action, to my mind, that the Organization must now proceed in order to promote human rights. And here again, I would like to quote some examples of what Unesco is doing. Not that I think that our achievements are remarkable or that they offer ready-made solutions to present difficulties; but they do provide pointers as to what can and should be done on a far bigger scale.

One example of the use of psychological action to promote human rights is the Campaign against Racial Prejudice.

The Campaign which Unesco has now been conducting for many years, for almost 15 years in

fact, against racial prejudice, is interesting in many ways. In particular, it is interesting because we try to fight racial prejudice with scientific truth as our only weapon. We do not try to oppose racial prejudice, or any other prejudice for that matter, by sentimental appeals to generosity or fraternity. We try to destroy or reduce racial prejudice by means of the truth. This may sound idealistic and it will certainly take time, but surely the only true way of getting rid of prejudices is by baring them to the light of truth, by showing them up for what they are, by making known the truth. And in doing this we are keeping strictly to the Constitution, our charter, in which the founders of Unesco emphatically proclaimed their belief in "the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth".

In 1950 and 1951, therefore, we assembled distinguished specialists in racial matters—biologists, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists—and we put to them a simple question: what is race? Does it exist? What does it mean? What does the word cover? What is our scientific knowledge of the question at this time? We do not want propaganda. We are not asking you to subscribe to any moral or ethical conclusions. All we want is for you to tell us what, to the best of your knowledge, are the scientific facts of the question at this time.

Now these experts, after lengthy and painstaking efforts, gave us a statement which we reproduced

widely and which has been the basis of our efforts and of our campaign. Then in 1964 I thought that the time had come to have another look at this statement. We therefore convened in Moscow a very important meeting of specialists which adopted another declaration, another statement, which is now being studied and which has been sent to many people throughout the world in order to be quite certain that it represents the views of the world's leading specialists in the different disciplines concerned. And we are publicizing it widely.

Here, too, I have been very impressed by the echo which this statement has found among the general public. The general public is thirsty for truth. It is tired of propaganda. So when we in Unesco say that we want to conduct a psychological action for ethical purposes, let it not be thought that we are going to make more propaganda against views which are not in accordance with our own. No, the real weapon of international co-operation against racial and all other prejudice is the truth. But the truth must be demonstrated, it must be made known, it must be presented in such a way that it can be comprehended and assimilated. That is the right way of disposing of racial prejudices.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not saying that, as a result of this campaign by Unesco, racial prejudice is diminishing in the world. On the contrary, during this past decade I think it has if any-

thing increased; indeed, a particularly disturbing feature of the situation today is that racialism seems to be growing everywhere. But this is due to the existence of certain specific conditions, objective circumstances, which tend to generate racial prejudice and which cannot be eliminated by psychological action alone. Those conditions must be changed by more direct action before the psychological action can have its full effect.

I have so far given you examples of activities which are directly and consciously aimed at the promotion of human rights and which are therefore obviously ethical by nature, since their objective is an ethical one. However, it is important to realize that the entire field of international co-operation is, in itself, by the very nature of the technique I spoke of yesterday, an ethical effort. For this technique of international co-operation, even when the promotion of human rights is not its immediate conscious goal, is in fact an effort to forge new mental attitudes which will lead eventually to the development of a growing consciousness of the solidarity, the intellectual and moral solidarity, of mankind and thus to the emergence of a universal moral conscience. This is my last point and it is one which I would like to develop briefly.

To begin with, international co-operation, even when it is not consciously directed towards the promotion of human rights, is an effort to appre-

hend, to grasp the problems from a global point of view. When dealing with the kind of problems I described yesterday—communications, exchanges, the creation of the various infrastructures of our civilization—the international organizations are bound by their own structures, their own membership, and the very characteristics of their approach, to adopt a global point of view. We approach a problem from the point of view of universality, what one may call the One-World approach.

Where Unesco is concerned, this is particularly noticeable in the case of science. Our science programme is obviously based on a world viewpoint. It is not considered from the point of view of India, France, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. or any other particular country. The problems of science are approached from a universal point of view, which means that the activities through which we try to find solutions for them are also universal in character. And, because these activities of ours, and whatever results we may achieve through them, are universal, all can share in them.

To me this approach has great moral value since it brings people together and helps them to realize that they are part of a whole. This is something which, in my personal experience, you also feel immediately you move from national service to international service. There is immediately a radical change. In national service, you look at things from

an historical point of view. You belong to a certain entity, a certain community, which is the product of a certain history and which is participating in the evolution of the world as an entity with a past, present and future of its own, so it is from this historical point of view that you will look at things; and what we call political realism is in fact an approach based on the point of view of this historical entity and the historical traditions and relationships which are a product of the past. When you move to international service, however, you look at a problem from the global point of view, you are completely free from this historical point of view. Of course, you must know the different historical points of view, because they are essential to an understanding of the problem, the nature of the problem; but in the search for a solution they are not the important factor. The solutions which we in international organizations are trying to find for these global problems are objective solutions. And from this global approach, this search for objective solutions, there is developing, however unconsciously, a universal way of looking at things.

Now I think that, although the effects are slow to be felt, this is perhaps the most important contribution which we are making, because we are helping Member States to realize that over and beyond the individual national approaches, which differ as a result of different histories, there is a universal

approach which is the approach of mankind to its own problems. One day this, I am sure, will come to be seen as the most important of all.

If we now turn to the last aspect of international co-operation, which is aid to member states, we find the same phenomenon. As I said yesterday, international co-operation in this field is leading to the creation of a relationship completely different from the traditional international relationship. In this type of action the relationship is between a country or group of countries and the community of nations as a whole, and this is a working relationship which helps to develop the concept of a world community. What is even more important, it helps to develop the concept on both sides. In the first place it develops it in the country which is being assisted, for that country feels very clearly the difference between international assistance and bilateral assistance. In the case of bilateral assistance the country is well aware that the aid comes from one particular nation. When it receives assistance from an international organization, it knows that it comes from the community of nations, not any one particular country. It is thus also aware that there is such a thing as a community of nations. We are demonstrating in action, by doing things together, that there is such a thing as an emergent and growing community of nations, because it is this community of nations which we are serving through the international

organization. And from the opposite angle we also find this same relationship, since the member states participating in this collective action know very well that they are doing so not as individual countries but as members of a community.

To sum up, therefore, I would like to say that quite apart from those activities which are immediately and consciously directed towards the promotion of human rights and thus obviously have an ethical aspect, all international co-operation is by nature ethical, in that it brings the perspective and dimension of universality with it. In fact, the justification of international co-operation is that it promotes a growing awareness that each man is a part of mankind.

In conclusion, I would say that from whatever angle you look at international co-operation—at the national or international level, at its governmental components or its non-governmental aspects, specialized or non-specialized—it is a moral exercise. All those of us who are involved in the process know this from our personal experience. And perhaps nothing is more rewarding than the fact that our work is a moral exercise, demanding of all those concerned a conscious and constant effort to put into practice three important ethical principles which I shall briefly summarize.

Firstly, international co-operation is an effort towards objectivity, and objectivity is the intellectual

translation of justice. Secondly, international co-operation is an exercise in the awareness of universality. Every time we co-operate we make an effort to try to find what is universal, what is the universal link which exists between us; and the name of this in modern terms is fraternity. And last but not least, it should be, if it is not always, an effort in humility. We must recognize that in each man there is an individual with a dignity of his own and that we must respect his freedom to be himself. Now objectivity, universality, humility—or, if you like, justice, fraternity and respect for freedom—these are the prerequisites of international co-operation. When you bear this in mind I think you will agree with me that one must not be too surprised at our failures and shortcomings, because what we are attempting to do all together is the most difficult thing in the world. It is the most difficult thing which has ever been attempted in the history of mankind. But it is also a very rewarding experience, and after more than 18 years of this experience my one desire is to continue dedicating myself to it. And that perhaps sums up better than anything else the fundamental meaning of the talk I have just been privileged to give you.